

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NEA-07 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 PM-03 L-02 H-01 SAJ-01 SPC-01

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DRC-01 /094 W

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R 131715Z FEB 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4044

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3695

USDEL SALT II

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 0773

LIMDIS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJ: PERMREPS LUNCH DISCUSSION, FEBRUARY 12

SUMMARY: AT LUNCH FEBRUARY 12, PERMREPS DISCUSSED THE FORMAT AND POSSIBLE AGENDA TOPICS FOR THE FEBRUARY 28 COUNCIL MEETING REINFORCED BY POLITICAL DIRECTORS, THE NEED TO SET A DATE FOR THE SPRING COUNCIL MINISTERIAL MEETING, AND BURDEN-SHARING AND JACKSON-NUNN REQUIREMENTS. FRG PERMREP SUMMARIZED BREZHNEV LETTER TO BRANDT ON CSCE. U.S. REP SPOKE OF NEXT SALT CONSULTATION. END SUMMARY.

NAC/POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING FEBRUARY 28

UPCOMING NAC/POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING BY SAYING BONN  
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SOLIDLY FAVORED MEETING. IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO HAVE ONE OR MORE DISCUSSION TOPICS SUCH AS GENERAL CONSULTATIONS ON EAST-WEST QUESTIONS IN A BROADER CONTEXT THAN CSCE AND MBFR. LUNS SAID HE WAS PREPARING A LIST OF TOPICS FOR REINFORCED NAC

DISCUSSION WHICH HE WOULD CIRCULATE SOON.

2. U.S. REP (MCAULIFFE) SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NO DIFFICULTY WITH SUBJECTS KRAPF HAD PROPOSED AND COULD ALSO SEE ADVANTAGE IN DISCUSSING JAPAN AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE FUTURE OF THE ALLIANCE. HE URGED COUNCIL TO FIX ON ONE OR MORE TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION. UK PERMREP PECK RECALLED DOUGLAS-HOME'S SUGGESTION OF CONSULTATIONS ON SUBJECTS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA AND SAID TWO WERE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO LONDON: THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A U.S.-SOVIET NAVAL CONFRONTATION THERE, AND THE STEADILY DETERIORATING RELATIONS BETWEEN IRAQ AND IRAN, A SUBJECT OF CONCERN TO BOTH THE UK AND TURKEY AS CENTO ALLIES. CANADIAN AMBASSADOR MENZIES ENDORSED PECK'S THOUGHT AND ADDED THE COUNCIL SHOULD ALSO BEGIN TO GRAPPLE WITH THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF THE LIKELY REOPENING OF THE SUEZ CANAL.

3. FRENCH PERMREP DE ROSE MAINTAINED AS REGARDS NAC/POLITICAL DIRECTORS' DISCUSSION OF CSCE THAT THE BASIC POSITION HAD BEEN CLEARLY DELINEATED IN NATO AND EC-9 PAPERS. HE REMARKED PERSONALLY THAT IT WOULD BE PROPER FOR THE FEBRUARY 28 MEETING TO DISCUSS THE INDIAN OCEAN AND SUEZ CANAL QUESTIONS. THE LATTER POLICY QUESTION HAD ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS IN RESPECT TO ENERGY AND PETROLEUM WHICH MUST BE DEALT WITH AND DECIDED UPON BY THE EC-9, BUT THE NINE AND THE FIFTEEN HAVE DIFFERENT GEOGRAPHIC EXTENSIONS AND VERY DIFFERENT PURPOSES. IT WAS THEREFORE POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE FROM DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS AMONG THE FIFTEEN PROVIDED IT WAS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT DECISIONS ALREADY TAKEN BY THE NINE WERE NOT FOR REVIEW OR REVISION IN THE LIGHT OF SUBSEQUENT CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE FIFTEEN..

4. THIS LATTER DE ROSE OBSERVATION BROUGHT FORTH A NUMBER OF DISSENTING VIEWS. NETHERLANDS PERMREP HARTOGH SAID HE COULD UNDERSTAND THAT THE NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS COULD DISCUSS MATTERS PRIMARILY FROM THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MONETARY POINTS OF VIEW ON A GLOBAL SCALE, BUT HE DID NOT THINK THEY COULD IGNORE THE SECURITY DIMENSION. THE NINE IN THEIR CONSULTATIONS/DECISION-MAKING MUST TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE INTERESTS AND VIEWS OF ALLIES WHO  
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ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE NINE. DE ROSE HELD HIS LINE: THERE WAS A CLEAR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE NINE AND PROVIDING INFORMATION ABOUT DECISIONS THE NINE HAD ALREADY TAKEN. TURKISH PERMREP ERALP SUPPORTED BY GREEK AMBASSADOR CHORAFAS OBSERVED RUEFULLY THAT CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE NINE AND THE FIFTEEN HAD EVOLVED A GREAT DEAL SINCE THE TIME SOME YEARS AGO WHEN THE EC-6 HAD AGREED TO CHANGE CERTAIN TENTATIVE DECISIONS TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF CANADIAN OBJECTIONS.

5. DE ROSE SAID HE BELIEVED THE QUAI D'ORSAY MIGHT BE INDUCED TO AGREE TO OCCASIONAL MEETINGS OF THE FIFTEEN POLITICAL DIRECTORS PROVIDING THERE WAS NO INSTITUTIONALIZATION, PROVIDING THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS DID NOT MEET ALONE, AND PROVIDING THAT

THE FIRST MEETING ON THE 28TH AND ANY POSSIBLE SUBSEQUENT ONES  
DID NOT ACQUIRE A REGULAR CHARACTER OR STATUTORY BASIS.  
ATTENDANCE OF OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS WAS ACCEPTABLE PROVIDED  
EACH GOVERNMENT WAS FREE TO DETERMINE WHOM IT WOULD SEND TO ASSIST  
ITS PERMREP IN THE DISCUSSIONS.

6. LUXEMBOURG PERMREP FISCHBACH SAID HIS POLITICAL DIRECTOR  
(WURTH) UNDERSTOOD FRANCE'S RESERVE AS REGARDS NAC/POLITICAL  
DIFECTORS' MEETINGS. BELGIAN PERMREP DE STAERCKE TOOK STRONG  
OBJECTION AND SPOKE OF THE NEED TO PRESERVE THE ALLIANCE AT FIFTEEN.  
A MEETING AT THIRTEEN OR FOURTEEN WOULD BE A CATASTROPHE. HE  
SUPPORTED AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD'S LETTER OF FEBRUARY 5 WHEREIN THE  
U.S. DECLARED ITSELF FIRMLY IN FAVOR OF THE FIFTEEN.

SCHEDULING OF THE SPRING NAC MINISTERIAL

7. PECK SAID NATO MUST GET ON WITH SCHEDULING THE SPRING NAC  
MINISTERIAL. IF PRESIDENT NIXON VISITS EUROPE IN APRIL, ONE SHOULD  
DECIDE WHETHER THAT MEETING WITH HIM OR GENERALLY AT THE HEADS OF  
GOVERNMENT LEVEL WILL SUPPLANT THE REGULAR SPRING GATHERING OF  
FOREIGN MINSTERS. HE SUGGESTED CONSIDERATION OF A NORMAL MEETING  
OF FOREIGN MINISTERS IN MAY OR JUNE. LUNS AGREED IT WAS NECESSARY  
TO SET DATES. DOUGLAS-HOME HAD RAISED THIS ISSUE WITH HIM JUST A  
FEW WEEKS AGO, POINTING OUT THAT FOREIGN MIN\*STERS' SCHEDULES WERE  
FILLING UP RAPIDLY. LUNS SAID THE COUNCIL MUST REACH A  
DECISION ON AN APRIL MEETING AT LEAST SIX WEEKS IN ADVANCE  
OF THE ACTUAL DATE.

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NEA-07 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 PM-03 L-02 H-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01

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R 131715Z FEB 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4045

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3696

USDEL SALT II

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 0773

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8. ITALIAN PERMREP CATALANO SAID HIS GOVERNMENT FAVORS A SINGLE MEETING AND VERY LIKELY ONE IN LATE APRIL. HE THOUGHT IT DESIRABLE TO FIX A SINGLE CALENDAR DATE IN LATE APRIL FOR A FONMINS MEETING WHICH WOULD ALSO COMMEMORATE THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALLIANCE. MENZIES EXPRESSED PERSONAL SUPPORT. ERALP SAID ANKARA ALSO FAVORS A SINGLE MEETING, PREFERABLY IN LATE APRIL. IF PRESIDENT NIXON IS PRESENT ON THAT OCCASION THAT WILL BE AN IDEAL SOLUTION. IF IT PROVED NECESSARY TO SLIP THE DATES A LITTLE IN ONE DIRECTION OR THE OTHER, THAT WOULD ALSO PROVE POSSIBLE; BUT THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO FIX A TARGET DATE AND VERY EARLY ON. DE STAERCKE AGREED AND URGED PERMREPS TO CRYSTALLIZE THIS MATTER WITH THEIR CAPITALS ON OR PRIOR TO THE MEETING WITH THE POLITICAL DIRECTRS ON FEBRUARY 28

SALT CONSULTATIONS

9. MCAULIFFE SAID THAT IT WAS MOST UNLIKELY THAT AMBASSADOR JOHNSON  
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WOULD BE ABLE TO CONSULT WITH THE NAC BEFORE THE SALT TALKS RESUME IN GENEVA FEBRUARY 19. THE WORKLOAD IN WASHINGTON IS EXTREMELY HEAVY AND MANY SENIOR OFFICIALS ARE INVOLVED IN THE ENERGY CONFERENCE WITH THE RESULT THAT AMBASSADOR JOHNSON AND THE SALT DELEGATION WILL PROBABLY NOT LEAVE WASHINGTON BEFORE SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16. USNATO WILL ADVISE THE SYG AND PERMREPS AS SOON AS AMBASSADOR JOHNSON IS ABLE TO PROPOSE A DATE TO MEET WITH THE COUNCIL.

10. MCAULIFFE SAID WE LOOK FORWARD TO A THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF  
GENERAL  
SALT ISSUES WITH THE ALLIES. THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO PROVIDE  
FOR AN EXPERTS MEETING FOLLOWING DISCUSSIONS IN THE COUNCIL.  
DR. GRAYBEAL HAS BEEN REPLACED IN THE EXPERT GROUP BY  
MR. RALPH EARLE, FORMERLY THE DEFENSE ADVISOR AT USNATO WHOM  
MANY OF THE PERMREPS KNOW PERSONALLY; AND IT IS OUR HOPE THAT  
ALLIES WILL SEND EXPERTS FROM CAPITALS TO BRUSSELS FOR THE DISCUS-  
SIONS WITH MR. EARLE.

BREZHNEV LETTER

1. KRAPF SAID HE WAS AUTHORIZED TO DISCLOSE THE GIST OF THE  
RECENT LETTER FROM GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV TO FEDERAL CHANCELLOR  
BRANDT. THE SOVIET LEADER HAD REAFFIRMED "THE UNSHAKABILITY OF  
FRONTIERS" WHILE RECOGNIZING THE POSSIBLE RECTIFICATION OF BORDERS  
BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT. BREZHNEV REASSERTED THIS "UNSHAKABILITY" IN  
TERMS WHICH HAVE SPECIAL APPLICATION FOR THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN ITS  
RELATIONS WITH THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND NEIGHBORING STATES.  
HE ALSO TOOK STRONG EXCEPTION TO ANY INITIAITVE AT CSCE WHICH WOULD  
SERVE TO UNDERMINE THE SOCIAL SYSTEM IN ANOTHER STATE UNDER THE  
TITLE OF HUMAN CONTACTS. BREZHNEV STRONGLY REAFFIRMED MOSCOW'S  
INSISTENCE THAT THERE BE NO INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF

ANOTHER NATION. THE SOVIET LEADER ALSO WROTE THAT THE CSCE PROCEEDINGS

AT GENEVA HAVE BECOMEMUCH TOO LONG AND DETAILED; THAT IF THEY CONTINUE IN THEIR PRESENT DIRECTION ONE CANNOT BE OPTIMISTIC AS TO THE ULTIMATE OUTCOME. BREZHNEV URGED THAT THE CSCE PROCEEDINGS BE CONCLUDED IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME AND THAT THE RESULTING AGREEMENT BE SIGNED AT "THE HIGHEST LEVEL." LUNS AND OTHERS EXPRESSED GRATITUDE TO KRAPF FOR THIS DISCLOSURE.

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BURDEN-SHARING AND JACKSON-NUNN

12. LUNS SAID MR. LAULAN, THE ECONOMIC DIRECTOR, HAD JUST RETURNED FROM A TRIP TO WASHINGTON WHERE HE HAD FRANK AND OPEN DISCUSSIONS WITH SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIALS ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT. LUNS EXPRESSED APPRECIATION THAT THE U.S. OFFICIALS HAD DEALT WITH THESE MATTERS DISPASSIONATELY AND THAT THEY SEEMED TO BE THOROUGHLY AWARE OF THE EFFORTS WHICH THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS WERE PUTTING INTO THE BURDEN-SHARING OPERATION. HE SAID THAT U.S. OFFICIALS HAD BEEN FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY THE PROCUREMENT FIGURES WHICH THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY PROVIDED TO LAULAN AND THE NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF, AND URGED OTHER ALLIES TO FOLLOW THE BELGIAN EXAMPLE.

13. DE STAERCKE CONSIDERED IT IMPORTANT THAT THE ALLIANCE CONCLUDE A FIRST REPORT REPORT BY THE END OF THE MONTH. HE UNDERSTOOD FROM HIS RECENT CONVERSATION WITH SENATOR NUNN THAT THE FRG EFFORT WOULD BE THE KEY ELEMENT IN ENABLING THE ADMINISTRATION TO MEET THE STIPULATIONS OF THE AMENDMENT. HE ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE FRG, THE FRENCH AND THE UK WOULD SHOW GREATER UNDERSTANDING AND WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTIALATERAL BURDEN-SHARING EFFORT WITH RESPECT TO NATO BUDGETS, INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE PIPELINE.

14. DE ROSE WAS NOTABLY SILENT. KRAPF SAID HE HAD NOTHING TO ADD WITH RESPECT TO THE U.S.-FRG BILATERAL OFFSET NEGOTIATIONS. PECK SAID HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE ALREADY WELL KNOWN AND THAT THERE WAS INCREASING SENTIMENT IN LONDON THAT THE UK SHOULD MAKE ITS OWN BURDEN-SHARING REQUEST BECAUSE OF THE CATASTROPHIC BALANCE OF ITS PAYMENTS SITUATION.

15. MENZIES INQUIRED WHETHER THE ALLIES WOULD RECEIVE A COPY OF THE REPORT WHICH THE U.S. EXECUTIVE BRANCH IS SCHEDULED TO SUBMIT TO THE CONGRESS ON FEBRUARY 15 IN RESPONSE TO THE JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT. OTHER PERMREPS ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH MENZIES AND MCAULIFFE AGREED TO TRANSMIT THIS REQUEST TO WASHINGTON. MCAULIFFE

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